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ground, and with harvesting, which he may not do. Upon marriage, the new wife is usually expected to garden on her husband's land. There is a fiction that, at the time of marriage, she 'does not know' the work she is expected to do on the land of her new affines. Her mother-in-law has to instruct her and it is only after such an apprenticeship that her husband's people consider her competent to tend taro on their land, harvest it and offer it to visitors in proper style. She would usually have been trained in these tasks by the women of her own clan, but the subtleties of family traditions differ.

As against these male and female obligations, we may note some clearcut rights: the man's right to his wife's labour and the wife's equally important right of unlimited access to the husband's garden land and to its produce. This right extends not only to harvesting food for the household, but also for gifts she may choose to make outside the household, providing that she manages the food supply so as to avoid shortages. A domestic dispute I observed in Sivepe (referred to in Chapter III above) illustrates the importance attached to this married woman's right. When this dispute was adjudicated, the 'explanation' of the breakdown of the marriage was found in a single incident, namely the husband's instruction to his wife not to go to his garden again. Here, in the view of everyone present, lay the 'root' of the trouble, a judgement with which the husband was willing to agree. This prohibition to go to his garden is one of the few things a husband is on no account to utter to his wife; it amounts to total repudiation of the conjugal relationship.

This brief discussion of social practices has already indicated that a garden plot is a gift made by a man to a woman, while the productiveness of the land is a gift from a woman to a man (because a man can neither plant nor harvest). Let us now consider to what extent the nature of these gifts may be clarified in the light of rituals, myths and indigenous explanations. It will be best to begin with some legal ideas about land. As has been pointed out by Salisbury (1962: 67ff.) among others, several sets of rights arise with respect to any one piece of land: rights of the village, of the clan, of the lineage, and of the 'father of the ground' or trustee. It is the last-mentioned person who assigns a piece of land (*enda*) to a cultivator for the purpose of making a garden (*pure*). The cultivator to whom land may be assigned may be either male or female. Among the Orokaiva it is common for women to have land assigned to them for cultivation in their own right, even though most land is assigned to males. They receive this land mostly from a father or brother, sometimes from their mother. When a woman wishes to have a garden established on her land, she (voluntarily) transfers the land to her husband or another male on a temporary basis so that he can carry out the crucial male tasks without which the garden cannot be made. These tasks are ritual as well as productive. It is common for the men of a clan to hold a feast together and to kill a pig from which they eat and obtain strength (*ivo*), before clearing new ground. The fertility of the soil depends greatly on getting a good burn after clearing, and a good burn depends on climatic conditions that can never be wholly predicted. I was unable to find out much about the ritual connected with clearing but gather it had to do with control over the sun and the rain. Another magical danger that arises in new gardens comes from the ghosts (*sowi*) lurking in the reverted gardens or bush that is being cleared. The garden thus established is the gift made by the man to the woman; the *pure* is

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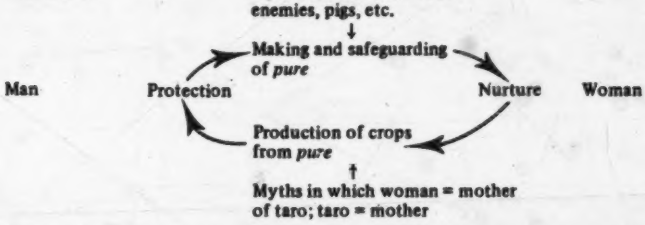
felt to be a feminine thing. In the myths it is the mother who buries the taro shoots (her children) and covers them with leaves and earth which are equated with her body. I shall show this in more detail in the next chapter.

In Williams' report on the division of labour, planting is shown as a female task, whereas the time studies of Waddell and Krinks suggest that the activity is actually shared by the couple. There is no real contradiction here, nor much evidence of change, as the man's task is to pound holes into the soil with his digging stick whereas the woman does the actual planting, or burying (*kovari*) of the seed.

Unless the normal rules are suspended, as happens at feasting time, men do not harvest taro or other products of the *pure* where taro is planted. (The rules are different for the yam garden as we shall see later.) The explanation that is given of this rule is that only the women know how to harvest crops to best advantage, i.e. at the right time and in the right quantities. If men harvested, the supply would never last through the lean season. The woman is responsible for nurture, in the widest sense. It is her task every day to bring home garden food in the large string bag suspended from her head. Contrary to what white observers have sometimes believed, this is not a symbol of female slavery, but rather of female power and it is done proudly. When my wife started to bring home produce from our own garden in Sivepe (in a different kind of bag), the women crowded round excitedly and congratulated her. The food gifts that are constantly sent from one household to another may be, at least partly, regarded as a display by the women of their own success. The products of the taro garden (though not the yam garden) may ultimately be regarded as a gift from women to men. We may summarise the total transaction as follows:

MODEL 11


Myths of male as killer of enemies, pigs, etc.
Making and safeguarding of *pure*
Man
Protection
Nurture
Woman
Production of crops from *pure*
Myths in which woman = mother of taro; taro = mother

On the basis of such a model, what precisely is the nature of 'rights' in land enjoyed by husbands and wives? A simple analogy would be a jointly owned machine of which one party controls all the bolts and the other controls all the nuts. The assets of neither party have any value independently of the other. Value can be created only by the co-operative *action* of screwing together bolts and nuts. Land transactions between Orokaiva husbands and wives are similarly a sequence of cumulative co-operative actions, such that each move by one party calls forth an appropriate response. The only 'rights' are 'rights' to responses once certain moves have been made. Legal disputes can in practice arise only if

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nature, partly a human nature, and these aspects are only partly differentiated. He ravages taro lying in the *gaga* in the manner of a wild pig. The wild taro *bere* planted by the woman in the beginning of the myth are fitly equated with his 'children' because Totoima's realm is the bush; bush taro are the children he might be expected to engender. The garden, however, is his wife's realm. It is she who nurses taro to maturity and who nurtures her family. She too has a dual nature, as she nurtures Totoima and also conspires to kill him. This second aspect is found in numerous myths concerning Totoima's wife. In the present version not only the wife but also the daughter is involved in conspiracy.

The taro are her children, and it is right that Totoima should eat them. She feeds them to him. However, she places restrictions on Totoima's appetite. The *bere* of the domestic taro must be preserved for planting. Hence it is the woman's duty to withhold these from her husband. Woman's two aspects – nurture and domestication – are crucial in the ritual statements made through gifts of taro.

Here we encounter again the dichotomy in sex roles to which I referred in the previous chapter. The male tends to be concerned with the killing of enemies and wild animals, the driving out of ghosts, the felling of bush before a garden can be made. On the other hand, the female is identified with the cultivation of taro. The *dema* of the taro are regularly called upon in drum songs performed at harvest time:

Bako jape teijo jape bako
Punduga kovari terijo jape bako, etc.

'Taro-being, ancestress, come to our aid, ancestress, taro-being; with the *punduga* harvesting help us, ancestress, taro-being', etc., where *punduga* is a variety of taro and the song continues with lines similar to the second one, invoking a great number of taro varieties, one after the other.

Taro, clearly, is a feminine plant. The first taro plant is found by a married woman in several myths I have recorded, though in others it was found by a brother and sister travelling together. One may well ask why it is, if taro is a feminine plant, that in this myth (and in others) we find its origin associated with two siblings of opposite sex (*du*), and why in particular it was the male sibling who was lying in the *gaga* while the female one was in the field. Those who like to impute laziness to the Orokaiva male may say that this scene is only too typical, but one cannot seriously believe this myth to indulge in caricature. In my explanation I shall anticipate an argument developed at greater length in Chapter VIII. It is a male sex role to clear a garden and give it to a woman; it is a female sex role to grow taro and give it to a man. These gifts are complementary and mediate the relationship between man and woman. The Orokaiva will classify a garden as a feminine thing 'because it is given to the woman' and a harvested taro as a masculine thing 'because it is given to the man'. This is why the taro lying in the *gaga* was a male sibling.

Evidence presented in the course of this chapter will show that Orokaiva regard taro as having a dual nature: while in the earth, they are identified with the woman who nurtures them and who regards them and nurses them as her children. When harvested they are victims to be killed, cut up and cooked and finally eaten. In this role of victims they are male, because the male is the killer

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824 and the male is also the most illustrious victim of the killer – the victim whose name and spirit is adopted by the killer. This theme, widely reported among headhunters, is strongly emphasised in Orokaiva culture, as Williams recognised. [773] In the myth discussed here, and in several others, these complementary male and female aspects of the taro are indicated by the presence of a pair of *dema*, probably always siblings of opposite sex, and clearly marked as such in the present myth.

261 In addition to father, mother and twins, the myth contains a fifth character, 773 the man from Managalasi, whose peculiarly male role is the hunting of animals. The marriage between him and Totoima's daughter lays down the Orokaiva principle that taro is a female product given to a man whereas meat is a male product given to a woman. In a number of myths I collected on the origin of marriage, that institution is set up by the male hero's action of bringing home meat to a woman instead of eating it in the bush, as was customary before marriage existed.

824 If female nature, in its pure state, is found in the taro garden and male nature, 773 in its pure state, in the jungle, then it follows that human beings, being born of a 539 man and a woman, have a mixed nature. In Totoima this dual nature is imperfectly developed (for he eats taro in the manner of a wild pig); similarly it is, at first, imperfectly developed in his son who does not hunt and has a purely taro nature. It is only when the man from Managalase has replaced the son's taro entrails with animal entrails that the latter has the power to defeat his father. He is then superior to his father because he has a fully human nature which is symbolised for instance by his manner of killing, with a club rather than the teeth (tusks), as did Totoima.

824 The analysis of this myth has enabled us to understand more precisely the 431 sense in which it may be said that taro is, as Sahlins put it, symbolic of 'mother'. The Orokaiva do speak of taro as 'our mother' and the ideas they have in mind 562 when they do so have been explained above. Taro is two things: it is a gift from a woman to her husband, and it is the offspring of the woman's womb inasmuch as she is identified with the taro goddess. The woman gives most of the taro-children she collects in the garden to her husband and others of her household, but she may extend this munificence by giving taro to others, i.e. by acting towards others as a quasi-wife or as though they were part of her household. Gifts of taro always have this intimate and deeply personal character as though the receiver was made part of the donor's household. The woman bears herself proudly, being pleased at having grown and cooked the food well; her attitude is formal and ceremonious, thus emphasising the importance of the gift and her respect for the recipient; at the same time she shows a certain solicitude, as though the recipient must be very hungry and very much in need of this meal.

3. *Taro as Mediator of Social Relations*

824 Gifts of taro may mediate either the establishment or perpetuation of a social 431 relationship. But the ritual context of the gifts differs considerably. By far the most frequent type are gifts which maintain relationships; these are made by 621 every Sivepe household every day. In the twenty-eight days for which I took

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574 The first plans for a feast are laid at least one year in advance, as it involves
621 extra plantings of taro as well as economising on pigs. By the end of December,
244 the feast taro ought to have finished flowering and the tubers ought to have formed. It is only then that the chances of an abundant harvest can be reasonably assessed. The feast-giver stealthily tours the village gardens to see whether the taro are 'ready', collecting tubers in gardens where tubers have formed and collecting flowers in those gardens which are lagging behind. He hides these specimens in his house. If his examination has been successful, he calls a meeting attended by all the men of the village (but not the women) at which the assembled people formally acknowledge that they are planning a feast. The leader will display the taro and the flowers he has collected, thus demonstrating visibly whose gardens will and will not be able to contribute food to the feast. The meeting decides who will be invited to the feast. The men share the meat of an animal, traditionally a pig, but nowadays often a rooster.

This ritual is clearly intended to remove obstacles that might prevent
[773] harmonious social relations from being established at the feast. I have already discussed[5] a myth which contained a charter for this custom of examining the gardens: it told the story of a food shortage which caused a quarrel and concluded with the enunciation by a *dema* of a rule that feasts should in future be held only in times of abundance. It is not sufficient, of course, for the people to say and to believe that there will be abundance. Abundance must be established ritually so as to be placed beyond human dispute.

574 The pig sacrifice at this meeting serves to remove any latent hostility between
621 the men of the group, so that all will be united and co-operate unreservedly
[554] towards the success of the feast. Though the *pondo kiari embo* tends to be a man of much influence in the village, he does not normally have any authority over resources held by any extended family other than his own. It is only for the specific purpose of feast-giving that he is given such authority, and it is limited in time from the meeting just described until the day of the feast itself. The
[422] meeting thus temporarily changes the authority structure of the village. The
[425] growing taro crop and the available pigs become, at least ideally, the corporate property of the village, whereas normally they are family property. The *pondo kiari embo* becomes, at least formally and ritually, the controller of this property. The unit of the group of offerers of the sacrifice is a necessary condition for the success of the rituals that follow.

621 The same principle underlies one detail of the ritual taro display to which I
574 have not yet made reference. At the meeting 'special betelnuts' (I do not know
431 just what medicine is used on them) are distributed by the feast-giver to be
276 shared, after the meeting, between the men and their wives. The men are to ask their wives whether the taro are ready. This is a ritual question, as the men go to
●562 the garden daily, but it is the women who are supposed to have charge of growing taro and – in a ritual sense – the men therefore do not know. After receiving an answer to this question, the husband will share the 'special' betelnut with his wife. While the enacting of this ritual would make even the most slow-witted of women aware of what is afoot, the women should still supposedly remain ignorant of the plan to hold a feast. Informants readily admit that this ignorance is a fiction. The significance of the shared betelnut is to provide against the anger a wife might feel when the taro harvest over which she has ritual control is

incontinently appropriated by her husband. The sharing of a fruit, especially a twin fruit, is a frequent practice when two people wish to establish or restore specially close bonds with one another. It constitutes a mutual pledge of friendship by agreeing to have a feast and take all the taro; they are re-establishing it by the betelnut-sharing. Thus we meet again the theme of the removal of conflict and the promoting of communion that dominates the feasting institution.

After the meeting, an invitation is sent to the chosen village. This takes the form of a small preliminary gift of betelnut and food, symbolic of the bounty to come later. The sending of this gift is called *sope ikari*. The men begin to build the feast house, a special structure which looks quite different from modern houses, but seems to correspond in almost every respect to the design of ordinary pre-contact Orokaiva houses. A style of carving used on the posts of modern feast houses seems to derive from the taro cult prevalent in the Northern District shortly after 1914 (see Chinnery and Haddon 1917, Williams 1928). The house is normally ready about a month before the feast. The ritual task of drawing down the spirits to dwell in the house and possess the offerers of sacrifice now begins. There is an all-night dance in which only initiated men participate, and at which bullroarers and flutes are used to draw the spirits. (For these instruments see Chinnery and Beaver 1915, Williams 1930: 195.) Though informants claimed that this ritual was now abandoned, I know it was enacted at Urarituru, two miles from Sivepe, in 1967. In some villages this dance is repeated (as Williams also notes, 1930: 230) from time to time before the feast, while it is also general practice to sit in front of the feast house at night and sing feast chants, which I heard one evening at Inonda. Each chant dealt either in forthright direct language or more symbolically with one of the objects necessary for a feast: meat, taro, various other vegetables and fruits, clothes, ornaments, betelnut, etc., telling them all to be plentiful. Another chant was addressed to the smoke arising from the fire inside the feast-house, telling it to draw to the village an abundance of guests. As these chants proceed at night, people busy themselves by bringing in food for the feast, preparing ceremonial clothing, and ornaments to be worn by the hosts.

The main effect of these preparations is to induce in the offerers of sacrifice a psychological identification with the *dema* of primeval time. Very little agricultural work is done in this part of the year except harvesting so that virtually all productive energy goes into ceremonial preparations. Those who are to play the role of visitors must likewise prepare, as they are usually called upon to dance, and so need to make or renovate the same paraphernalia and rehearse their dances. The change of identity that occurs when people wear ceremonial dress is strongly emphasised. Everybody must act as though this dress actually makes the wearer unrecognisable. Informants variously explain that the wearer is a wallaby, a flower, one of a number of species of birds perhaps, or an *embahi* – a spirit. Williams has described how initiands are expected to show fear of the *embahi* at initiation and be mystified by the disguise. Initiation, indeed, is the ritual whereby young people learn the dual identity of men: the everyday people one sees about the village, and the ancestral spirits which may at any time transform these familiar people into beings of primal time. The curious nasal sound of the feasting songs emphasises this new identity.

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5. *The Message of the Sacred Flutes*

We are now in a position to analyse Williams' data on the *otohu*. Recent theoretical advances in anthropology help us to a fairly easy solution to the problem of the *otohu* by following up a clue Williams threw away as insignificant. Williams was actually very close to the solution I now propose. He recognised that the explanation of the *otohu* is to be found in the ritual of initiation. He also recognised that Chinnery's and Beaver's explanation of initiation, (viz. that it educates by showing initiands the terrifying power of the spirits), 'does not lay sufficient stress on the actual paraphernalia, viz. the bullroarers and flutes, which play a more important part in the ceremony than would appear' (1930: 195). Finally, Williams records (*ibid.*, 185) that in some localities such as Wasida, one of the duet of flutes is actually called *otohu* and the other *e* (= mother). Though this usage is only local, it nevertheless gives us a crucial insight into the significance of the word *otohu*.

Seeing that the Wasida people used the same word for the mental qualities known as *otohu* and the larger and lower-pitched of the pair of sacred flutes, it is useful to inquire whether some symbolic equivalence exists between these mental qualities and these objects. The question falls into two parts. First, we have to explain why there should be any association between a flute and a set of social virtues. Secondly, we have to explain why the flute called *otohu*, which is symbolically equivalent to a set of moral virtues, should be played in antiphony to another flute called *e*. As for the first question, Williams reports that these flutes are never seen but only heard by the uninitiated and that they are regarded as voices of the spirits or *embahi*. The initiated have seen the *embahi* and are allowed to see and play the sacred flutes. They have made the acquaintance of the world of primal ancestors who enunciated and established the moral rules of social behaviour. As children they were taught to obey these rules, but as initiates they have experienced a mystic unity with the deities who established them. The sacred flutes, being voices of the spirits, have communicated these rules in their spiritual essence. Now an *otohu embo* (a man of good character, ibid., p. 205) is a man who lives according to the message he has received from the sacred flutes. The connection between the flutes and the set of social virtues is therefore not difficult to establish.

Secondly, why should the flute called *otohu* be played in antiphony to a flute called *e*? To answer this question let us first recall that according to Williams' own evidence (*ibid.*, 185), the Orokaiva classify one of this pair of flutes – always the larger and lower-pitched one – as masculine and the other as feminine. If the latter is equated to 'mother', then what kinsman is associated with the masculine flute? It seems most plausible that the masculine flute should be symbolically equivalent to the mother's brother, as it is he who acts as initiator of the novice and is thus, on the social level, the mediator between the latter and the spirit world. He teaches the initiand to play the flutes, he gives him medicines which ensure success in adult roles, and finally he presents him with the ornament called *otohu*. The association here is clear enough, but see model 34 on p. 187.

Throughout the Orokaiva world we find the opposition of the male and female principle: between killing and nurture, bush and garden, victim and taro

A [See Category 431--Analyst]

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The mother and mother's brother, being the most harmonious, gentle and affectionate male/female couple known to the Orokaiva, are the most suited for the task of mediating between the fearsome spirit world and the human being. The two initiatory flutes are therefore identifed with them.

How are the *otohu* ornaments connected with (*a*) the moral qualities and (*b*) the flute of the same name? The first part of this question was answered convincingly by Williams, as we have seen. But how are *otohu* ornaments symbolically equivalent to flutes? It is relevant to recall the difference between the two identity symbols *otohu* and *hae*. Ideally, the latter is transmitted in the patriline, the former in the matriline. All other differences (e.g. that the *hae* is attached to the corporate group and the *otohu* to the exchange system) follow from the mode of transmission.

The common characteristic of initiation ceremony, sacred flutes and *otohu* ornaments is that they all ideally derive from uterine kin or, in any case, that they have no necessary connection with the clan. Initiation pries the novice loose from early over-attachment to the clan and confronts him with the more adventurous, less secure world of the exchange system (*mine*). This applies equally to girls and boys. The rigours of this new arena are very effectively dramatised by the *aguma* whose recital emphasises that it is meritorious for the *otohu embo* to kill enemies. The same message is conveyed in a different way by the mother's brother whose role includes the gift of black magic (*saruka*) to his nephew. The ornament, *saruka* and other presentations come to the nephew not of right, but in the form of *mine*, in exchange for help and obedience offered to the mother's brother and gifts made by the novice's family.

The existence of two identity symbols, *hae* and *otohu*, side by side, indicates the strong emphasis placed by Orokaiva culture upon social relationships outside the corporate group. Among the neighbouring Baruga, whose culture closely resembles the Orokaiva, but who are more strongly patrilineal, we find only one identity symbol, the *kotopo*, which serves both as *hae* (lineage emblem) and as *otohu* (honorific ornament). Initiation is here carried out by the clan, introduces the novice to full clan membership, but carries no implications for participation in a wider network.

The *otohu* flute is a voice from the spirit world, mediated through the mother's brother. This voice communicates a certain moral order. The initiand hears the flutes but at that time makes no response. If he is later presented with an *otohu* ornament, he must make pledges. The ornament, as it is thrown back and forth over his head, communicates the same message as the flute but this time the novice responds to the voice. It is thus that he makes the ornament into a symbol of his identity.

6. Otohu *and* Hambo *Compared*

There are many resemblances between *otohu* and other *hambo*. They are made from largely the same materials. They are all, together with *di* (feathers) made accessible to men and women at the time of initiation, as soon as they have seen the *embahi*. Yet there are also many differences both in significance and in transactional custom. First of all, *otohu* may be worn on any important occasion, but *hambo* only during a dance or in other ceremonial contexts.

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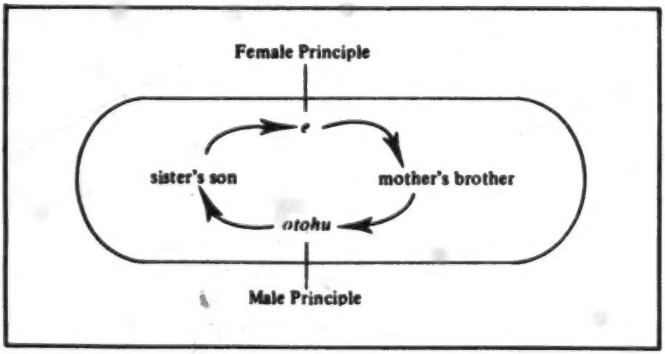
As an example of the operation of this model, we may summarise the discussion concerning the sacred flutes and the *otohu*. On the mythical level there is a binary opposition between a male and a female principle. On the social level there is a relation between mother's brother and sister's son, which is mediated (*a*) by the mother; (*b*) by the gift of an *otohu*. On the technological level, there is opposition between a male and female initiation flute (respectively *otohu* and e = mother). These complex interrelations are shown with great economy in the following diagram:

MODEL 34



The objects of mediation under discussion in the preceding chapters have been mostly material objects, but the model is by no means confined to these. It is equally applicable to social objects of mediation. Indeed, in model 34, the word *e* appears in a double sense: as one of the two initiatory flutes, i.e. a material object, but simultaneously as 'mother', a social object. In the taro sociogram, we introduced a series of human mediators between a set of distant but equal exchange partners (model 20). In discussing the *aguma*, we found the same pattern between a set of distant but unequal exchange partners (model 31). Similarly, we may regard the mother's brother as mediator between initiand and the spirit world.

Some of the most important social exchanges are those which are mediated by a woman who is a sister of one of the partners and the wife of the other. We have already looked briefly at this type of exchange when discussing the coconut and betelnut myth (model 29). In thus equating woman with an 'object of mediation' we are not thereby postulating any essential inequality between men and women except in as far as the Orokaiva happen to be patrilocal and patrilineal, so that it is the women, not the men, whose sexual role places them in a position of mediation. We are merely suggesting that two persons standing in a relation of *dambo* mediate their social relationship through a woman with which each, in a different way, is identified, one sexually and the other non-sexually. The asymmetry is balanced out by a counter-prestation on the part

A [See p. 182, Cat. 881--Analyst]
B [See p. 135, Cat. 431--Analyst]
C [See p. 171, Cat. 824--Analyst]

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of the 'husband' who either gives a woman in exchange (direct marriage exchange) or else makes some kind of reparation for having deprived his exchange partner (generalised marriage exchange).

REFERENCES

1. Erikson, describing 'the beginnings of identity' in the adolescent, comes rather close to what I have in mind in this chapter: 'The emerging identity bridges the stages of childhood when the bodily self and the parental images are given their cultural connotation: and it bridges the stage of young adulthood, when a variety of social roles become available and, in fact, increasingly coercive.' (1963: 235).

2. A person who receives a token is referred to in this chapter as an 'initiate', as Williams makes it very clear the the bestowal of the token is not a necessary part of initiation, and comes after the ceremony which makes an 'inistion' into an 'initiate'.

3. I am using Beaver's spelling, as Beaver (1920) is the source for Williams' and my own information about *kortopo*, but Williams spells the word *kotopo*.

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by a consanguine of either side, the proper side being determined by a medicine man (See Schwimmer 1969). The effect of this theory is that a woman belongs to her clan in a less absolute sense than a man.

This theory of paternity may be explained teleologically as serving to emphasise the rights and identity of the patriclan in a social system which 'very nearly approaches' bilaterality. In Orokaiva society women very often receive a portion of patrimony land. Their indulgent brothers frequently give lands to their sister's children and such land may well pass into the hands of those children's heirs. Currently, over 50 per cent of cultivated land is owned by persons other than the cultivators, and very often the cultivator's useholds became perpetuated. Such perpetuation proceeds in spite of an explicit rule denying women hereditary rights to their patrimony useholds. The physiological reasoning by which Orokaiva women are denied full clan membership should therefore be interpreted as a symbolic statement insisting on the limits that should be placed upon uterine intrusion on clan property.

When Orokaiva informants are asked why women should not have hereditary rights over land, they usually give as the reason that a woman will marry into a strange clan and village so that it would be dangerous to give her children any rights. Such reasoning goes back to a time when the most frequent marriage forms were abduction and elopement. In practice, the fate of a woman's patrimony rights depends on where she marries: if she does marry in a friendly neighbouring village or by sister exchange, her children will probably keep her property. This is therefore the preferred feminine pattern. But if she is taken by a man from a strange village, her clan rights become precarious. We have already seen that this latter pattern of marriage is forced upon men not only by ecological contingencies but by the marriage rules themselves. Ideological devices to deny women full clan membership are consistent with this pattern. Such devices are inconsistent with restricted marriage exchange, because the latter system depends on the return of a woman's offspring to her natal clan as marriage partners in a later generation. In the Orokaiva system this is envisaged as only one of several structurally recognised possibilities.

8. *The Nature of Orokaiva Bridewealth*

The most convenient way of explaining the nature of Orokaiva bridewealth payments (*dorobu*) is by contrasting them with certain types of African bridewealth (*lobola*), as analysed by Lévi-Strauss.[2] Here the recipient applies the gifts, wholly or in large part, to the immediate purchase of wives for himself or his family. *Lobola 'n'est recu que pour commencer, aussitôt, un nouveau circuit . . . Il ne sera jamais consommé, sauf, occasionellement et partiellement, à des fins sacrificielles. A peine reçu, il fera l'objet d'un remploi, sous la forme d'une épouse pour le frère ou le cousin de la jeune marié* (1967:536). Under such a system it could rightly be said that *'la femme fournie en contrepartie est remplacée par une valeur symbolique'* and that the wife-giving families received in return *'la garantie, sous forme de biens privilégiés, de trouver elles-mêmes des épouses'* (*ibid.* 540).

Papuan bridewealth objects, however, cannot generally be applied to the same ends, or are not in practice generally so applied. The most important Orokaiva

613 general information is already beyond the immediate recall of the surviving Jegase men.

The Sivepe people who belong to Timumu, the second clan represented in our sample, are members of 2 lineages, Pekuma and Hajejopa. Other than clanship the two can reckon no link originating in the 'district' from which both emigrated independently to the neighbourhood of Sivepe; their closely parallel histories of migration, subsequent residence and marriage account for the present firm connection between them.

The largest exogamous groups are lineages, but this rule readily lapses when a lineage achieves a much wider span than average, especially if it becomes scattered for any length of time or in more than one 'hamlet group'.

62 All land around Sivepe and neighbouring villages is divided
[103] into named areas which we will call 'blocks'. Each is usually a
[128] locality deriving its name from a prominent local natural feature - often a tree or a grove of trees, hence Korinaguzu or Korinaturu. For any subdivisions of a block we use the term 'section' and we refer to either 'blocks' or 'sections' as 'parcels' of land.[1] No correlation is implied between the type of a parcel and the type of rights held to it.

423 All land constituting territory of the Jegase, Timumu or others
[428] in the neighbourhood is divided into parcels which are the holdings either of individuals or of full brothers. A man's rights and other property are ideally inherited patrilineally. In some circumstances a definitive division of the father's land may be made among his sons before his death. This usually takes place if the sons already have their own households, if the father is
● [562] no longer very active in village life or if the younger men are only half-brothers. We know of no instances of a daughter receiving a particular share at the time of such an allocation, but we refer elsewhere to circumstances where women hold land
428 (see Appendix E, p.111).[A] In other cases brothers may jointly hold all the land inherited from their father. This seems to apply particularly to instances where a younger brother is unmarried or has taken temporary employment away from the village

[823] [1] People commonly use the name of a block to refer to any parcel of land, for instance in listing their landholdings. They draw attention to any specific distribution of sections of 1 block among different people only when the context requires them to. On Map 2, where 1 man holds adjacent blocks or 2 adjoining sections on 2 adjacent blocks, the boundary between them is not shown. Only boundaries between different landholders are indicated. [B]

A, [See Category 428, p. 111--Analyst] B, [See Category 102, p 40--Analyst]

may be influenced by proximity to a new area of land it is intended to bring into cultivation.[1]

(iv) Rights to land. The Orokaiva social system is characterised by flexibility in arrangements for group membership and for transmission of rights to land (e.g. through adoption). Inheritance is usually patrilineal[2] and various land rights may be distributed at a number of levels of social segmentation - the clan branch, lineage and individual - the relative significance of each varying with locality and, apparently, population density.[3] Further, more than one descent group may have rights in a single piece of land. In many instances the clan branch functions essentially as a reference group, all land being associated with it. However, it may function as a primary right-holding group for those hunting areas distinct from current garden land, typically the grasslands.[4] Priority rights to garden land are normally vested in the lineage; nevertheless, all such land is ultimately identifiable with individuals who may distribute land (and property) prior to their death not only to their immediate family but also to more distant kin.[5]

This markedly influences the pattern of both exploitation of land and transmission of rights. In the low density areas a number of descent groups often agree to exploit simultaneously an area

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[1] Rimoldi (1966:68) found no evidence of the need for new land as a motive for movement. He considers the major motives to be fear of sorcery, disputes between kin and life-crises. It is nevertheless conceivable that the fear or sorcery or disputes might arise from poor yields from over-cropped garden land, which would require a move in any case.

[2] Women are known to hold land only as a form of trust for their children (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:75).

[3] We do not know whether any causal relationship exists between these two factors. However, the existence in low density areas of primary forest surplus to current garden needs, plus extensive grassland and mountain areas utilised largely in hunting only, might well account for the responsibility for such land being vested in the larger social group, the clan branch. This group's significance has been eroded in the high density areas, where there is little or no land surplus to present gardening needs.

[4] In the high density areas hunting is frequently confined to garden land and individuals can commonly hunt over land belonging to anyone in the village.

[5] For example, sisters' sons (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:24).

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

mean duration of absences at Sangara is 26.7 nights. In the case of such long absences only one member of the household is normally involved so that the routine of gardening activities is not greatly disrupted. 166

As Fig.6.1 demonstrates, some periodic variation is discernible in the pattern of absences. During the first seven weeks of period I absences occurred on only 1.7 per cent of survey nights, but for the rest of the survey a substantially higher percentage was maintained. These first weeks largely coincided with an (abortive) attempt to establish a communal cash crop garden in the village.[1]

The proportion of absences rose to 10.1 per cent during the last six weeks of period I, falling slightly to 7.4 per cent during period II, the main cash cropping season, and rising to a peak of 15 per cent in period III. During this last period over half (59 per cent) involved visits to Sangara.

In analysing absences according to sex, age and cash cropping status some meaningful patterns emerge (see Table 6:2). Men tend to absent themselves more than women, largely on account of their greater dealings with the external agencies (17 per cent of all their absences). [562]

The 25-34 years old age group is distinguished by its very low incidence of absences - less than 2 per cent of survey nights compared with over 10 per cent for all other age groups. Virtually all absences in this age group were connected with social obligations or garden work; no visits were made to Sangara. The mobility of this age group may be influenced by the fact that it comprises young married people with families.

Cash croppers absent themselves less than non-cash croppers, while almost 42 per cent of the former's absences is connected with subsistence garden work and only 6 per cent involved visits to Sangara. By contrast non-cash croppers are not only absent more frequently but spent 55 per cent of all nights absent at Sangara. Since assistance to settlers is normally reciprocated with cash payments or trade store goods (usually food), evidently those with no reliable avenue for acquiring cash within the village context perceive assisting kinsmen on the land settlement scheme as an important alternative source. [434]

(b) Sickness

While sickness and the care of sick people account for a minority of absences from the village, they did result in 212.4 man-days being spent totally inactive within the village and a further 615 464 734 164

[1] See pp.44-5. 1

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

A,[See Category 245, pp. 44-45--Analysis]

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Although without access to a shotgun, Palminus spends even more time in hunting than Linton (98 per cent of the 9.1 hours devoted to other subsistence food production). Guitar parties account for over half the time spent on social obligations and, while they normally appeal primarily to unattached youths, Palminus is attracted to them by the liquor (including beer, gin, rum and methylated spirits) often on sale.

The time spent in coffee production, 5.9 hours per week, is a particularly high figure when it is considered that this work was confined to little more than one-third of the total survey period. When, during the latter part of the dry season, Palminus had completed harvesting his own coffee he agreed to pick in the garden of a member of Seho clan. Although he did no paid work while resident in the village, over half of the 9.5 per cent of survey days on which he was absent was spent at Sangara constructing a house for a settler, with a view to receiving a cash payment for it at the end.

Gorukari. Gorukari is aged 32 years and a married woman with five children, all under the age of 12 years. The two eldest attend Sasembata school, one, a six year old, refuses to go, and the others are below school age, one being still at the breast. Although she received a few months' schooling at Sasembata, her experience of Western culture is slight and in this respect she is typical of the women. Her husband is not unlike Palminus in that he is industrious, interested in cash cropping but not a particularly influential person.

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On account of the size of her family and age of her children, Gorukari has a heavy burden of basic subsistence gardening and household tasks and while her eldest daughter, aged 11 years, could be of considerable assistance, regular attendance at school prevents this. In addition, Gorukari's domestic obligations often extend to the care of her husband's father and mother plus two children who reside next door. The father is over 55 years and the mother only a little younger and both are frequently sick.[1]

With a mean activity week of 49.0 hours, 62 per cent of her time is spent on subsistence gardening and household tasks, taro gardening predominating in the former and cooking in the latter. This figure contrasts with the sample mean of 46 per cent of total

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1 He was sick, or absent through sickness, on 30 per cent of potential survey days and she on 26 per cent.

time. In effect Gorukari is concerned essentially with producing and preparing for consumption the staple food, taro.

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The figure of 49.0 hours per week is somewhat misleading in the case of such a woman where so much time is taken up with care of children and minor household tasks which do not lend themselves to quantitative analysis. In following her movements through a single day it was found that, between rising at 0610 and finishing the evening meal at 1845, Gorukari spent only 1 hour 50 min. actually resting or eating. She was therefore active for a total of 10.8 hours compared with an 'activity' figure of 8.1 hours. From 1845 until 2230, when she retired, she sat and talked with her husband. Assuming this to have been a typical day, a woman such as Gorukari has an activity week of about 75 hours.

Social obligations account for 3.1 hours per week, 55 per cent spent in visiting. Not only is this substantially less than the figures for Linton and Palminus but it reflects a somewhat different emphasis. While the role of women in ceremonial life is subsidiary to that of the men, they are often responsible for the more informal exchanges which are a characteristic feature of Orokaiva life and, since the society is typically a patrivirilocal one, it is to be expected that the women spend a significant amount of time visiting their kin.

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Gorukari's primary concern with food gardening and household tasks is expressed in the general distribution of her time. In particular she is more concerned with subsistence activities than the sample in general, these accounting for 79 per cent of her total activity time, while she also places greater stress on productive tasks. These facts are manifested in both the infrequency and short duration of her absences from the village which amount to only 1.1 per cent of potential survey days.

Olga. Olga is aged about 48 years and the wife of the most progressive of the older generation - a man with extensive non-traditional experience. They have eight children, the eldest of whom resides, with his family, next door. The two youngest, girls aged 10 and 14 years, attend Sasembata school and still live at home. All but one of the other children are married and normally reside elsewhere.

Subsistence gardening and household tasks dominate Olga's activities to an even greater extent than they do Gorukari's, accounting for 89 per cent of total time in an activity

512 criticised by her husband and by others, particularly when her husband's mother was sick at the aid post and he was left with no close relative to perform household tasks. Social obligations and other generally non-productive activities account for 33 per cent of the total time that Marjorie spends on her activities, compared with 20 per cent for the village as a whole, and the mean length of her working week was less than 42 hours compared with the village average of almost 49 hours. Apart from household tasks, the most important productive activity is harvesting of subsistence crops. Over half of this time is spent on taro and the rest on sweet potato, yams and minor crops. The other aspects of cultivation and clearing bring the total time on subsistence gardening to almost 11 hours a week; only taro receives any maintenance. Fishing - usually with a small net, in contrast with the spears used by men - is the most time-consuming of the other food-producing activities, although she also assists her husband in sago-making. Other subsistence activities are restricted almost entirely to making string bags and pandanus-leaf sleeping-mats.

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The average weekly time Marjorie devoted to cash cropping equals that of the entrepreneur. She helped her husband establish a coffee garden and worked with the other villagers making copra. However, the time she spends in cash cropping is less than that spent in other activities related to external agencies. Of such activities, over one-third is on council work and almost one-third on meetings of the Hohota Women's Club; the rest is mostly on church services, since she often goes to the Ijika services held by close kin of hers. In total, these activities and cash cropping account for 14 per cent of her activity time.

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Although Marjorie invests sufficient time to maintain the household's gardens, it seems clear from the frequency of her contacts with her consanguineal kin in other villages and from the comparatively low proportion of her time devoted to productive labour that she is less oriented towards her village of residence than are the other wives, all but one of whom also originate from other villages.

Paulus. The younger of Manoko's two sons, Paulus is aged 25, is married to the sister of the leading man's wife and has two sons (a third having died a few months before the survey began). He was educated only to standard I. Subsequently two and a half years were spent working as a surveyor's assistant in Port Moresby and some months as a labourer (and briefly as a foreman) on the roads near the village. He has no cash crop

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

121 The reasoning is nearly syllogistic...close kin tend to share, to enter into generalised exchanges, and distant and non-kin to deal in equivalents or in guile.

He does, nevertheless, recognise three aspects of kinship distance, namely, genealogical, segmentary and spatial (or residential) distance. Of the third, he writes: 'It is not only the kinship organises communities, but communities kinship, so that a spatial, co-residential term affects the measure of kinship distance and this the mode of exchange.' (1965:150)

Among the Mt Lamington Orokaiva exchange networks can best be understood in terms of associated kinship-residential groupings, on account of the physical separation of clans into several branches and the frequent juxtaposition of two or more such branches in a single village. Yet, even with this proviso, it is doubtful whether exchange can be viewed as the principal manifestation of social relations among kindred (if any important relations exist at all in the context of Murdoch's model) for, not only is the proportion of total production entering into the exchange system small in Sivepe, but the dimensions of the system and the number of persons with which an individual effects significant transactions are also small.

437 The following examination of the major exchange relationships of six selected individuals[1] (see Table 10:17) reveals that many are founded on a specific set of considerations, involving degrees of economic inter-dependence, rather than on general obligations to a wide range of kindred. The conclusions reached are, to a degree, determined by certain assumptions inherent in the mode of analysis. [513] Firstly, the exchanges of individual members of a household are considered instead of those of the household as a whole although a [562] man and his wife, for instance, clearly conduct exchanges on each other's behalf. Secondly, women are treated as members of their spouse's lineage group since this is the kinship context in which they are considered to be the most effective transacting agents. In spite of such limitations the fact does emerge that exchange networks are not readily explicable in terms of formal models of kinship or of exchange based on such models.

Linton. Although only adopted into Timuma clan, Linton behaves as a full member of it and retains few links with his true agnates, many of whom reside less than one hour's walk from Sivepe. The total volume of transactions effected by him exceeds that of the other selected individuals in all but two aspects: the disposal of subsistence produce and the acquisition of labour services in subsistence activities. In spite of the fact that he

1 The same six whose activity patterns are considered above. See pp.117-27.

437 Palminus was able, like Linton, to establish an exchange relationship with a man employed in Popondetta, in this case a distant relative of his wife, working as a carpenter. On his occasional visits he took him food, receiving in return cash and storebought goods. Apart from this case, however, Palminus' transactions are almost entirely restricted to [431] subsistence goods and services - food and labour in harvesting yams. Acquisitions amount [765] to 62 per cent of all his subsistence produce transactions (compared with 84 per cent in Linton's case), the greater proportion reflecting events following the death of one of Palminus' sons early in the survey when gifts of food were received from a wide range of kin during the week that he and his wife remained in their house.

[562] Gorukari. Like most women Gorukari transacts little apart from subsistence produce and, in this, the substantial excess of disposals over acquisitions reflects her responsibility for distributing plates of cooked food. Outside her own family her immediate responsibilities are to her husband's ageing parents and their remaining dependent children who live next door. While the two families frequently prepare their meals at the same hearth the periodic sickness of the parents also involves Gorukari in providing food for them. In addition she temporarily accommodated her husband's father's sister, a widow, and her [431] children. This family appears to have had some difficulty in achieving subsistence[1] and Gorukari frequently provided them with food. These gifts were acknowledged following the widow's remarriage and departure from Sivepe.

Elsewhere within the village Gorukari exchanges produce primarily with women from her own age group, where the bond is one of common interest rather than of kinship. Outside the village she maintains contact with two of her natal kin - her mother, who lives about one hour's walk away, and her sister, married to a medical orderly at Saiho hospital. These periodic visits also enable Gorukari to take food to her husband's father's sister who is married into her mother's village.

Olga. Olga's exchanges follow a similar pattern to those of Gorukari. They involve, almost exclusively, subsistence produce, disposals of which account for 71 per cent of all transactions. Within the spouse's lineage frequent exchanges are effected with her son and his wife whose house is adjacent. Elsewhere major exchange relationships are maintained

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1 See p.94.

437 operations in the cash sector are conducted, in part at least, according to traditional attitudes.

437 476 Table 11:16 gives details of labour assistance received from and given to non-residents. We have already referred to the low degree of collaboration in labour practised by the Inonda people and this table shows that 40 per cent of all the services received is from non-residents - mainly young people invited by specific Inonda households to assist either in specific short-term tasks such as house-construction and sago-making or in general tasks such as gardening and household chores. Little is contributed by people from nearby villages compared with that given by those from more distant ones who come to live in Inonda for several days or weeks. The young men who came to assist household 23 also helped household 16 in sago-making. Most of the labour assistance given by households 16 and 17 is to non-residents, primarily to kin at Ijika and on the Girua settlement block, and it included work on garden clearance, hunting and maintenance of coffee and cocoa trees. Almost half of that in activities relating to the cash sector is given to non-residents, but less than one-sixth of subsistence sector services goes to non-residents.

Assistance by non-residents in sago-making accounts for 41 per cent of all services received from them and it forms one-fifth of all the labour invested in the task. Non-residents also account for 6 per cent of the total labour input in construction of houses, but their contribution in other tasks is quantitatively insignificant although it may be of considerable value as, for instance, in establishing a garden quickly to benefit from favourable weather conditions. Thus, households which have suitable kinship connections and are in a position to provide hospitality may derive considerable benefit by inviting young kinsmen to stay with them. A further implication is that the presence of young men who are not tied by material requirements to their village of origin means that there is, to some extent, a flexible reserve of labour which can be drawn upon at short notice by people over a considerable area.

The exchange of goods and services by sex

438 462 562 The breakdown of the totals for the whole survey according to sex reveals that women are responsible for the bulk of the transactions of subsistence items. Since they do much of the harvesting[1] and practically all the cooking, this is to be expected. Where items are exchanged uncooked, the men's proportion of disposals at least, tends to be higher than otherwise; this is so, for instance, with bananas, coconut, sugar-cane and areca and it may reflect a

[1] See pp.148-9.

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

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Table 11:17

Inonda: exchange of goods and services, by sex
(percentage distribution)

Category	Acquisition			Disposal		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Subsistence produce:			(lbs)			(lbs)
Taro	40	60	5,494	6	94	6,307
Sweet potato	31	69	1,419	17	83	1,235
Yam	36	64	406	19	81	457
Banana	42	58	1,098	34	66	553
Pumpkin	21	79	521	16	84	410
'Soup'	70	30	261	3	97	266
Coconut	48	52	326	56	44	431
Sugar-cane	49	51	546	33	67	662
Areca	42	58	93	36	64	39
Other garden produce	44	56	1,566	26	74	1,089
Fish	49	51	174	71	29	211
Wallaby	81	19	318	85	15	276
Pig	77	23	1,482	85	15	1,923
Other produce of hunting, fishing and foraging	55	45	157	46	54	179
Other weight items	-	100	160	48	52	48
Labour services:			(hrs)			(hrs)
Cash	98	2	52.8	67	33	53.1
Subsistence	88	12	578.4	78	22	386.8
Storebought goods:			($)			($)
Rice	58	42	56.74	33	67	12.94
Tinned fish	67	33	29.98	54	46	6.16
Tinned meat	66	34	17.00	54	46	1.30
Bread	82	18	17.50	89	11	3.08
Sugar	75	25	17.84	100	-	1.62
Salt	48	52	1.24	-	100	0.12
Trade tobacco	71	29	21.24	45	55	2.26
Other foodstuffs and cigarettes	82	18	69.34	67	33	5.80
Clothing	60	40	77.04	55	45	6.70
Cooking utensils	21	79	9.76	-	-	-
Other storebought goods	88	12	42.60	14	86	0.78
Cash	88	12	337.36	90	10	340.70

	Men	Women	Total
Number of days surveyed	1,443	1,339	2,782
Percentage of total	52	48	100

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

438 462 greater sharing of refreshments by men when working or travelling together. Men are most prominent, however, in transactions of the produce of hunting and fishing, particularly wallaby, pig and fish. They engage in these activities more than women and a hunter will often give a whole pig or wallaby to a male relative, very rarely to a woman. The only instances recorded of gifts of carcasses to women were two young pigs caught in traps and a wallaby found dead (perhaps killed by a dog) on the roadway. As a rule, women are concerned in the distribution of meat only after an animal has been butchered. Women receive half the fish distributed, since young men returning from fishing expeditions almost invariably give part of the catch to close female relatives.

562 As men both earn and dispose of most of the money, it is to be expected that they acquire most of the storebought items - cooking utensils are the only significant exception, due to a single large purchase by one woman. Women are free to keep and dispose as they wish of cash acquired from gifts or in marketing (although they [439] acquire less than men in this way) and husbands also give their wives sums of money as presents or for specific purchases. Women account for a slightly larger share of disposals of some storebought goods, especially rice, reflecting the fact that in Inonda rice is becoming an accepted subsidiary food and may be included in the [556] routine daily exchanges of cooked food. This is true of flour also in the dry season. Rice is commonly prepared for visitors from other villages, perhaps to stress the wealth and 'modernity' of the Inonda people. As regards cash itself, most is handled by men.

437 462 562 Services are usually said to be given to household heads, so it is natural that most labour services are acquired by men. Those acquired expressly by women are largely in the form of garden and household tasks and house construction. Almost all the labour services relating to the cash sector are in cultivation of cash crops and, since women do not own commercial trees, are received by men, although the former do assist in their establishment and maintenance. In the subsistence sector, men own and control the exploitation of sago-palms and as sago-making accounts for 46 per cent of all assistance received in subsistence tasks, men are again dominant. They also provide most of the assistance in sago-making, and therefore account for the larger part of disposals of subsistence services.

The relationships between exchange and the socio-economic category of transacting partners

438 For each transaction, the name of the donor or recipient was recorded, together with his place of residence and occupational category - that is, whether he was a villager, a regular wage earner within the District, an ex-serviceman settler, or a wage earner resident outside the District. The categories are mutually

other rites which are still based largely on traditional precedents, tapa cloths, arm-bands, necklaces and head-dresses are de rigeur, but informants stated that a birthday party was different, as it was a European institution.

The language most frequently used was Pidgin as most of the labourers came from various parts of New Guinea, but the local people spoke between themselves in Orokaiva. Police Motu, the official lingua franca of Papua, was heard quite frequently and the notice about donations was written in that language. While the non-Orokaiva people conversed freely in lingue franche, the less prominent of the Orokaiva people kept largely to themselves.

The only indigenous musical instrument present was a single drum, but it was not played. When asked why there were not more drums, those present expressed mild contempt for them and explained that there would be guitars. All the music, which continued almost nonstop from dusk on Saturday until daylight Sunday, was provided by six or eight guitars owned and played by the indentured labourers present. There were no skilled guitarists, and the band merely strummed a basic rhythm which changed little during the course of the evening. The repertoire of songs was not extensive and most were repeated many times. All of them were either popular Western or modern Polynesian tunes, some sung to Pidgin words, other to English words and a few to Orokaiva words.

Most of the young men danced, some of them almost constantly, but very few knew any pattern of steps. The majority were attempting to dance modern style Polynesian dancing which had been learned indirectly from the Samoan, Cook Island and Tongan missionaries who served along the south coast of Papua (though not in the Orokaiva area). The one man who could perform a particular Samoan men's dance quite well had learned it directly from a Samoan missionary several years ago. Some individuals tried to dance traditional Orokaiva steps but were not particularly successful owing to the foreign nature of the music. Several men from New Guinea attempted ballroom dancing which they had seen performed by Europeans in New Guinea, and in films.

Of a total of approximately 130 adults present, only about 20 were women. While the discrepancy was partly accounted for by the number of male contract labourers, most of the relatives of the hosts who attended were also men. Few of the settlers or other visitors brought their wives (unless the latter had relatives at Inonda). The cooking was done by a group of five women, while the others remained in the shadows.

The music and entertainment were almost exclusively the prerogative of the men. No woman joined the band of guitarists and singers at any time, and none attempted to dance until about 10 p.m.

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Men dancing at the feast

574 when three young single women joined in, though each danced sepa-
562 rately and without appearing to take any notice of the men or to
595 be noticed by them. Only three mixed couples were seen dancing during the whole evening, the partners in each case being real or classificatory siblings. They danced ballroom style, which the girls had seen when away at work as nurses and domestics. On some occasions two men danced together, but for the most part each man danced individually, following his own style and apparently oblivious to those around him. Traditionally, married women do not dance, though single women dance in supporting roles.

574 It was clear that while music and dancing were based largely on
177 a very limited conception of Polynesian patterns, dress and other behaviour was based on European models - even to the extent of several of the most prominent citizens handing out Rothman's king size filter cigarettes! Though traditional prohibitions (such as those against married women dancing) prevailed, there seemed to be a conscious effort not to behave as an Orokaiva, and some of the local people who did not participate explained that it was because they did not know how to dance in the modern style. Over all the men engaged in nontraditional activity much more than the women did.

574 Shortly after daybreak a church service was held, breakfast was served, and the party was over. The remains of the food was distributed to those relatives who had contributed most food and

three categories in relation to particular clans, i.e. a man may be a primary member of an Inonda sub-clan and a secondary member of his mother's clan; or a married woman may be a contingent member of her father's clan, a secondary member of her mother's clan and a permissive member of her husband's clan. Each category may be sub-divided according to sex, for the rights of males in each category are in some respects different from those of females. Hunting rights, for example, are never exercised by women though occasionally a husband hunts on the land of his wife's sub-clan. Likewise food gardens are seldom planted by a married woman on land in which her lineage has proprietary rights; and men quite often harvest tree crops from their mothers' lands, though women seldom do so.

The people of the Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans of Inonda recognize all other members of their respective clans, wherever they reside, as kinsmen. Although distant kinsmen visit for feasts and ceremonial occasions, only those persons who can trace descent from the original Inonda settlers have any proprietary rights in the Inonda lands. It is said that any clansman who was evicted from another village would be given asylum here and provided with whatever land he needed for sustenance, but this has never occurred in fact, with the exception of the Jegotumo who came over from Hohota, though in that case they had contributed a bride, pigs and valuables to the exchange at the time of acquisition of the Inonda lands.

Individuals normally acquire their land rights only as a function of their status with respect to particular descent groups but such rights are acquired from an individual within the descent group rather than from the descent group as a whole. As stability of residence strengthens the rights of particular descent groups so also does it lead to the clearer definition of the rights of individuals.

The status of adoptees varies according to individual circumstances as the following examples show. About fifty years ago the Andiriha (who were then living at Sambogo) attacked a village of a neighbouring but unrelated Managalas tribe. Some of the inhabitants were killed and others fled. Two small boys who were captured were adopted by an Andiriha

851 marriage is in force; he is, in addition, considered to be the genitor of all her male offspring though not her female offspring.

842 It is obvious that the Orokaiva know the 'basic fact' that when a man and woman have sexual intercourse, the birth of a child often follows and that the latter, in common experience, does not occur unless preceded by the former. The recognition of this fact does not impel them to adopt a genuine 'theory of physiological paternity'; their basic theory remains that of spirit entry which is deemed essential to the conception of all children, whether male or female. The notion 842 of physiological paternity is introduced only 562 to solve a somewhat different problem: why the sexes differ in physiology and legal status. The answer runs as follows: the male is believed to have a special quality (*ivo*), not shared by the female. This is a strength or power enabling the male to play his distinctive roles and it is transmitted by a man to his son in the 'male blood' which enters the mother in intercourse. This is the *ivo* of the lineage. As women do not receive this type of blood, they cannot carry on the lineage: filiation is patrilateral. Having only the 'weaker' blood of their mothers, they become women.

842 Leach's essay on 'virgin birth' does a good deal to illuminate the Orokaiva case. The Orokaiva, like Christians and the people of ancient Mediterranean societies, believe that some births are the consequence of sexual congress whereas others are not. Both cultures have a further theory according to which some children may be conceived by a 'woman sleeping alone'. Furthermore, both systems explain conception in these circumstances by a spirit entering a woman and fertilising her.

614 Now, as I understand Leach, in all quoted 182 cases of parthenogenesis, a great social distance separates a father of egregious status from a mother and maternal lineage of much lower status. In some of the quoted cases, the offspring inherits the father's high status while in others, the offspring remains (as in the Trobriands) in the lower 'stratum' of the mother. The somewhat unusual Orokaiva case fits this pattern quite well. Woman is not destined to stay in the clan but to be abducted or to elope and settle elsewhere, but her children will always covet the clan's land and her brother who is expected to love her is

affairs, but gives all his declining energies to his garden, keeping as close as possible to the productive level of his better years. He draws closer and closer to his garden where his spirit will dwell after death. Apart from the garden, he becomes remote from most things; his days of household duties, hunting, fishing, building are over. He will, however, make dancing ornaments and weapons and headdresses which again lie close to the spirit realm. (I have quoted Waddell's statistical evidence for these tendencies in Table 18.)[A]

How did culture change influence the division of labour between the sexes? For the traditional productive activities, there has probably been hardly any change. I have quoted a table of exclusively masculine and feminine activities collected by Williams in 1923, and hitherto unpublished (Table 19).[B] Certain tasks of importance were omitted from this list, which may explain why Williams did not publish it. Sago making was probably always a male activity; so was the use of the digging stick preparatory to planting taro and yam. The harvesting of taro was probably always a specifically feminine task; there is clearly a taboo on men against harvesting taro. Even bachelors never do it but must leave it to his mother, his sister or his brother's wife. If men did it, I was told, they would not "know how" and they would never manage to eke out the crop until the next harvest. This did not apply to the harvesting of other crops. When Williams classified "planting" as a feminine task, he was probably thinking of the actual placing of the cuttings in the ground, though I have seen men as well as women do this.

In the Orokaiva view both man and woman are repositories of capacities and resources specific to themselves; the relationship between man and woman is the giving of exchange (mine ari) of the contributions of each. Man views woman as an equal exchange partner and this equality is real even though the care over legal and political matters is a distinctively masculine contribution. In the new activities introduced since European contact the same balance is preserved. Some new duties (e.g., the washing of clothes) were added to the specifically feminine preserve, church work and the purchasing of goods became a predominantly masculine preserve (as is attested by Waddell's statistics). The harvesting of rubber, taught exclusively to men on the plantations, became an exclusively male activity. On the other hand, the bulk of cash producing activities (working for pay, maintaining, harvesting and processing of coffee) were shared.

One interesting observation made by Waddell and confirmed by me is that most marketing of subsistence crops is done by the women whereas marketing of coffee is done by the men. The handling of harvested crops is normally a woman's prerogative. These are normally carried in large string bags which only married women can own and hang over their heads. While the casual European observer supposes that the women carrying these large bags are reduced to the status of beasts of burden, these bags signify the women's exlusive power over the crop; the fuller they are, the prouder the women are of them. Thus, only

A,B [See Cat. 116, pp. 225, 226, respectively--Analyst]

462 women can carry produce to market. Coffee, however, is in a different
● [562] category because the bags are of a special type, supplied by the coffee
[422] factory and a specifically male property.

Section 3: Education, Occupational Skills, Money Income

241 In the last section, dealing with the division of labour, I
613 did not introduce the question whether there were differences in this
614 respect between the various social groups--lineages and clans. The main differentiation noted by earlier authors was that between cash-croppers and those engaging only in subsistence gardening. Now in this respect there was no noticeable difference between clans in Sivepe: out of 1,100 coffee trees growing in Sivepe in 1962, 503 belonged to Jegase and Timumu and the rest to Seho, while in Inonda the coffee growers belonged to two Andiriha lineages. In Sivepe today most men grow coffee, and this applies equally to the Jegase, Seho and Sorovi clans; the exceptions are elderly people. There are, however, very significant differences in other respects between socio-economic patterns in the Jegase and Seho clans--differences which are obvious even on very superficial inquiry.

614 A minor imbalance in the age distribution of the two clans is
561 noticed at once from the statistics: the Jegase householders are predominantly in the 35-45 year age group whereas Seho is predominantly
[535] a little older (45-55 years). Hence the dance group formed in Sivepe is at present almost wholly composed of men of the Jegase clan. The
[177] age difference happens to be very significant in various indices of
[871] acculturation, as the first school was established at Sasembata in 1945, and the custom of looking for wage labour outside the district
[167] did not become widespread until about the same time. While some Jegase people know some English, none of the Seho people over 35 speak any
[191] at all. Furthermore, the first village constable and the first councillor in Sivepe were both Jegase men who had taken up employment well before the second world war. During the years they held these posts (1939-1965), Seho had much less contact with government.

614 The statistics (Table 20) show that Jegase male adults have
463 slightly more school education than Seho adults but a great deal more occupational experience. This experience, for both clans, did not include work requiring much formal training; it was labour on rubber and cocoa plantations, on the roads, assistance with land surveys,
[179] laundry work, service as a "houseboy," and in the A.P.C. Nonetheless, an intelligent man thrown into these kinds of situation can find out a good deal about the outside world; in later dealings with external agencies, he is able to make more informed judgments. A further opportunity for such experience was offered the Jegase clan when the Australian National University, which made Sivepe into a sample village for several studies (see below, Chapter VII), decided to concentrate

A [See Cat. 116, p. 227--Analyst]

CHAPTER VIII: Factionalism

121 In the preceding chapters I have invoked a number of principles
621 of classification with the aid of which I have divided the sample communities into a number of what are in the last resort arbitrary categories: religious categories (pagan-Christian), political categories (clans and lineages), ethnic categories (Orokaiva villagers and non-Orokaiva mission teachers), generational categories (age groups), acculturational categories (which sometimes coincided with the other categories already mentioned in personnel). It became apparent that all these categories were to some extent socially significant: we found, for instance, that the Inonda pagans are distinguishable from the Inonda Christians by having different economic objectives, a different level of Western education, smaller access to economic resources (land, etc) while they also belong to different lineages from the Christians. We also found, however, that the line of religious division by no means coincides with a generational division, nor do pagans necessarily have less experience at work outside the community.

621 In Sivepe we found political membership groups (clans) which
665 showed marked differences in certain acculturational indices (work outside the community, knowledge of other languages, exogamy, etc.) but little difference in other, probably more crucial ones (land resources and cash cropping activities). We found ethnic differences between mission teachers and villagers to be mainly significant in the context of political and status rivalry between the station and the villages. At various points we found differences in customs as between generations, but we also found that at Sivepe, the category of male adults under 35 is almost absent; and also, that when these younger people do return to the villages, their elders are apt to imitate them in certain respects. They thus become channels of acculturation.

I should perhaps have added that in this respect, as in most others, the Orokaiva practise a subtle bargaining of customs. The younger men come back with money and assets which they find are soon distributed, under one pretext or another, among the less affluent villagers. They have to "help" when called upon; they have to respect the existing system of social obligations. This is a pattern the younger generation has never successfully challenged in Sivepe, though perhaps it was easier to challenge in Inonda, where there is a "big man" as
665 leader. Another classification, namely between male and female,
562 should also perhaps be briefly considered as, under the impact of the women's clubs, men and women could occasionally be seen to behave as political membership groups.

This political division between men and women was, of course, on a rather superficial level. It was not seen in Inonda at all, as

665 the women's club there was a concern of the acculturated faction and
562 arguments about it were on factional lines. But in Sivepe, it was quite a novelty for the women to have a political cause of their own (they had to inveigle the men into building them a clubhouse) and they discussed the various ways in which they could exert pressure (refuse to sleep with them, etc.). All this was on a rather unserious level, although the secretary of the club, whose circumstances I have described, depended rather heavily on the club for a secure status in her new village. Later, when all the women were practising the kere every night, the same tug of war re-established itself. Traditionally, married women do not dance much or at all; some husbands grumbled because the wives did not stay home in the evening, came home very late, left them with the babies, made a "lot of noise." In all this, there was a feeling that the status of women was rising--and the mission encouraged this as well as the government. More important, the women were acting as a group, under a leader, which may not have been common at an earlier time.

121 To what extent can one speak, in these villages, of factionalism? This term is used in a bewildering number of ways. Ralph Nicholas has recently tried to clarify it by five nominal propositions: according to him, factions are (1) conflict groups, (2) political groups, (3) not corporate groups. Faction members are recruited (4) by a leader and (5) on diverse principles. (1965: 27-29) Nicholas stresses that factions, in his sense of the term, lack the permanence of corporate groups, and that they may, in fact, arise in just one conflict situation, to evaporate again soon after. Alternatively, they may last for a very long time. I noticed a profound difference
665 between the working of factions among the New Zealand Maori and the
[171] Orokaiva. When a conflict situation arises among the Maori, including any disagreement at all between two persons of different families, familiar alignments at once reassert themselves. The lines of cleavage tend to be predictable; furthermore, a large number of people are apt
[578] to take sides along this predictable lines of division. Among the Orokaiva, each side tended to have only a small number of predictable protagonists. The rest would remain indifferent, and if the conflict became serious enough for them to participate, the alliances, at least in Sivepe, were hardly ever repeated from one occasion to the next. Factionalism in Sivepe was therefore, to a large extent, fugitive.

There were, of course, disputes that would divide the whole of a village along clan lines, or that would divide a larger body of contestants along village lines. I would tend, with Nicholas, to speak here of conflicts between corporate groups rather than factionalism.

Yet there are confusions here that still need to be cleared up. What Nicholas calls a "corporate group" is corporate only in respect of certain functions, even though these may be very diffuse, as in the case of kinship groups. But if conflict occurs over matters arising

241 of "dry" gardening, with fire and the digging stick as the essential tools, and either long term rotation of previously occupied areas or breaking in of new forest land. "The immediate family . . . is a self sufficient unit" and "the Orokaiva words for 'work' and 'garden' are one and the same." Con-
621 sistent with this mobile economic base, settlements are rarely more than hamlet size, with "hardly more than a dozen houses" on the average. Materials for housing are readily available, so that residence can be easily shifted.

The hamlet is based normally on patrilocal-patrilineal principles of organization, with a known strong tendency for new groups to form by "hiving off." Clan affiliations are
(614) reckoned from quite recent ancestors, so that at times a given clan may all be in one settlement, though more usually scattered through several closely related settlements. The
592 generally monogamous family units are under the "immediate
62 authority of the father," while the affairs of the local living
622 units are under loose supervision by the hamlet and clan elders, centered on a "men's house" and working together, usually with one strong senior man as "leader." Personal
422 property consists of mobile goods such as tools and utensils, clothing, and body ornaments.

181 In spite of ethnic similarities over a wide region, Williams speaks of the Orokaiva as being a "more than usually quarrelsome and disunited people"—a strong statement to make in the New Guinea setting. Their pre-pacification history was marked by "feuds, dispersals . . . a veritable whirlpool of strife, migration, and counter-migration." Beaver, too, refers to their "turbulent and restless life . . . migration was, in
(154) the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing, and pursuing." Supernatural weapons in the form of sorcery were especially feared. Even for Papuans, the Orokaiva proved to be unusually
(562) hostile and resistant to whites. Women were often seen ac-
(186) companying the war parties, carrying food and weapons, and sometimes joining in fights. Williams goes on to say that
(628) while the "elementary small sympathy-groups" (the local kin and settlement units, and to a lesser extent the dispersed clan units) were tightly knit, their external relations were
(728) precarious. "There were peacemakings or truces, but the truce was always a fragile one, and no (settlement) lived in permanent security." "Hiving off" occurred sometimes
361 as the result of a "quarrel and the fear of retaliatory magic,"
241 but more often it was "simply the lax method of horticulture
(518) which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site."
361 Another factor could have been food scarcities which tend
261 to occur in exceptionally dry southeast winter seasons. During this period, north and west Lamington area is in a rainshadow
931 zone, and people may have to scatter out to live on wild
165 roots and fruits. The implication of this is that even the excision of the 4,000 persons from the Orokaiva group who were killed involved no extensive shattering of valued ties.

361 Williams and others judge that with the modern pacifica-
178 tion, the Orokaiva have tended to disperse in even smaller living units than before. This appears to apply particularly
(449) to the relatively densely populated Lamington slopes, though a few instances of larger aggregations approaching a village
361 type also occurred, particularly as a result of Mission influ-
571 ence. Over against this greater dispersal, the people have;

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Rich data on the symbolism defining the *philia* relationship in religio-philosophic terms are available in Strathern (1971). I have already expounded elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1972) that the theme of *philia* (its establishment, disruption, and restoration) is a central issue in New Guinean thought and that it enters into many levels of culture: geographical, zoological, social, magical, religious, and aesthetic.

THE OROKAIVA CASE

Up to this point, I have given some empirical illustrations of simple analytical distinctions. Thus, we can no longer take for granted that the *philia* universe always consists of friends and kin for it may define all friends as kin (as in the Maori) or vice versa (as in the Telefolmin). On the other hand, there are societies where the distinction friend/kin is of subordinate importance because the *philia* universe is classified by different criteria such as cooperative/competitive (Tangu) or real/feeble (South Fore). Then again, there are societies where consanguinity is a distinctive criterion within the *philia* system, but only in combination with other factors (Melpa).

If the Orokaiva case, of which a description now follows, seems more complex than the preceding ones, this may be attributed, at least to some extent, to my method of presentation. While most Oceanic sources are too brief on the subject of friendship to enable us to go beyond summary statements,[5] the Orokaiva facts resemble those reported by Burridge (1957a; 1969) in many respects. But in some respects, the Orokaiva system seems more explicit. It differs from Tangu in having a slightly stronger patrilineal emphasis, less emphasis on collateral relations, and a stronger avoidance of affines. The Orokaiva marriage system, reported elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1970a), seems more highly structured. These factors are probably related to higher population density, larger social networks, higher soil fertility, and more pervasive warfare.

The Orokaiva (population 25,000) live on the fertile volcanic loam of the Mount Lamington foothills. Their main crop of taro once supported villages of six to twelve families, although now, the villages are often larger mainly because of pressure from the Australian administration. Williams (1928, 1930)[6] characterized the society as patrilineal with a strong bilateral emphasis. Women hold a relatively high position which is maintained

5 Early accounts of New Guinea friendship relations are in Mead (1938) and Williams (1940). Later accounts of a *namel* type of relationship are in Pouwer (1955) and Hogbin (1964) and of the *otavo* type in Heider (1970), Oliver (1955), Schoorl (n.d.). The "resemblance friends" found by Williams among the Elema are not unlike the fictive *simbo* of the Orokaiva.

6 Other useful sources on Orokaiva social organization are Crocombe and Hogbin (1963), Rimoldi (1966), Krinks and Waddell (1968), Schwimmer (1967, 1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c, 1972).

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

through the close brother-sister links that endure after marriage and that are expressed through strong links between sister's son and mother's brother. Genealogies are brief, but the Orokaiva classify themselves into supposedly agnatic units by grouping together persons who respect the same plant emblem which is treated as an ancestor. Clans are dispersed, and although local clan groups continue relations after dispersal, they soon begin to intermarry.

In the Orokaiva *philia* system, the distinction consanguine/non-consanguine occurs, but only feebly. Far more important are three cross-cutting categories which may be briefly summarized as follows: 1) the cooperative alliance, centred on sibling and parental bonds; 2) the competitive group exchange system, centred on relations with affines and uterines; 3) the total interdependence relations existing between spouses and cross-cousins.

Previously (Schwimmer, 1970a; 1970b; 1972), I have shown that the Orokaiva kinship universe may be viewed as made up of these three main components. In particular, the symbolization of the conjugal bond does not coincide with either the cooperative or the competitive mode, but is expressed in the symbiosis of plants (such as coconut and areca) which exhibit both binary opposition and total interdependence relationships. The cross-cousin bond has the same components and, at least in ideology, a comparable strength.

In this essay, I shall present data on the friendship universe and show that Orokaiva have institutionalized friendships of several types, some of which are hereditary. I hope to show that each type of friendship corresponds to one of the basic categories of the kin universe. Thus, if my argument is correct, the same categories would hold for the entire *philia* universe of which kinship and friendship would become homomorphous components. Friendship would not have one specific idiom, but a set of idioms which have already been stated in *philia* ideology and symbolized in the religio-philosophic system. Friendship thus becomes a dynamic dimension of kinship. Superficially, it looks like a minor supplement of the kinship system, but it is essential in filling ever-widening lacunae in the kinship system and preventing progressive entropy.

Orokaiva Kin and Friendship Idioms

Between the districts where the data were collected, there are slight differences in dialect (Hohorita in the Sangara district and Sivepe in the Sasembata district), including the way kin and friendship terms are used. The Sangara and Sasembata people are tribe-like groups, hereditary enemies, with seemingly similar social organizations.

Provisionally, it is best to regard the Sangara and Sasembata nomenclatures as variants of the same system. I shall not deal here with intergenerational terminology since it is mainly used in a familial context, whereas

27: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

121 tended to play down such a possibility. While the concept of exploitation is perhaps more directly relevant to Marxist theory than alienation, it has certain drawbacks that are now widely recognized. Where use-values are predominant it is common practice to set up not so much a division of labour (Vernant has rightly argued one cannot call it that) but rather an allocation of tasks to persons or social categories who are thought to have special competence for them. Thus, as the most common example, certain tasks are allocated on the basis of criteria like age and sex. Now, this is not in itself exploitation though obviously it may well lead to exploitation. We therefore need a criterion, other than that of the task allocation itself, to determine whether exploitation in fact occurs.

462 I shall press this point by citing one counter-instance. Among the Orokaiva only women are considered competent to harvest.
562 Men never do it and claim that, if they did, the taro supply would be exhausted too soon. As an exception, they do harvest taro for feasts, and this exception only goes to confirm that they would be far too prodigal to act as daily harvesters. Is this just a story to exploit women? When crops are being marketed, the rule among Orokaiva is that the men carry the coffee and are paid for the coffee, but taro and other subsistence vegetables, when taken to market, are taken by women who also retain the money. Their right to the produce is maintained not only for the daily food supply but also when there is money to be earned. Their right to the product of their labour does not seem to be questioned. Thus, by the criteria we have been using, Orokaiva women are not an alienated labour force and it will be seen that *alienation* is more convenient in an operational sense than the concept of exploitation, which may be too broad.

171 While studies of alienation in Melanesia are rare, it is possible to give some indication of the patterns. M. Panoff, in his study of Maenge suicides (1970), did not question the generally accepted model of Melanesian society as governed by certain strong exchange and 'equivalence' principles. He points out, however, that there may well be a minority of marginal individuals who are somehow too weakly established to be within the range of those principles: they may at times press their rightful claims, but without success. Panoff shows that the male suicides among the Maenge occur as a general rule against this background of ruthless and unlimited exploitation. In fact it is only suicide that sets a limit to exploitation in such cases. The proportion of people Panoff places in that category appears to be of the order